DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 096 682 CS 201 574

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TITLE A Thematic Analysis of Edwin L. Godkin's Editorials in the "Nation," 1865-1899.
PUB DATE Aug 74
NOTE 23p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Association for Education in Journalism (57th, San Diego, California, August 18-21, 1974)

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.75 HC-$1.50 PLUS POSTAGE
DESCRIPTORS *Content Analysis; *Editorials; Higher Education; *Journalism; *Media Research; Political Attitudes; *Press Opinion; Social Values; United States History
IDENTIFIERS *Godkin (Edward L); Nation

ABSTRACT

This thematic analysis of Edward L. Godkin's editorials appearing in the "Nation" seeks to reveal the major themes on which he wrote and then, by quantitative analysis, to provide some order to the themes and to study the interaction of the themes. Five hundred and twelve editorials, written over a period of 35 years and representing one-third of the editorials Godkin wrote for the "Nation," were selected for this study. The factor analysis identified four strong sets of themes in Godkin editorials: affairs of foreign nations; corruption at local, state, and national levels of government--and civil services reform; American business, tariff, and fiscal policy; and American expansionism. Missing is strong presence of themes that marked a changing nation--urbanization, immigration, agriculture, the West, and race relations. Half of the editorials Godkin wrote commented in some form on the affairs of foreign nations. Godkin questioned morality in politics, in business, in religion, and in the press, but not in the plight of Negroes or the jingoism of the 1890s. (Author/RB)

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A THEMATIC ANALYSIS OF EDWIN L. GODKIN'S EDITORIALS IN THE NATION, 1865-1899

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Paper presented to the History Division, Association for Education in Journalism, San Diego, California, August 1974.

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A THEMATIC ANALYSIS OF EDWIN L. GODKIN'S EDITORIALS IN THE NATION, 1865-1899

Richard W. Lee

Edwin Lawrence Godkin would not have liked the computer. At home in the environs of his good friend, Charles Eliot Norton, he probably felt some of Norton's compulsion to decline gas lights and the wave of modern fixtures advancing on American society. But a computer based analysis of Godkin provides useful and illuminating insights of his 35 years as editor of the Nation. The study extracts the patterns of the major Godkin editorial themes, it scotches several issues that were thought to have been Godkin favorites, and it finds certain themes that other historians have not noticed in Godkin material.

The importance of Godkin's editorial opinion is widely supported by both his contemporaries and present day historians. William James wrote:

> To my generation his was certainly the towering influence in all thoughts concerning public affairs, and indirectly his influence has certainly been more pervasive than that of any other writer of the generation, for he influenced other writers who never quoted him, and determined the whole current of discussion."[1]

A current Godkin biographer, William M. Armstrong, wrote:

> Godkin's importance to the student of history lies chiefly in the considerable extent to which as an editor he helped to mold the political opinions of his generation. . . .His influence was broad, and, what is particularly important, it has been a continuing one.

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> Today the judgments he passed on his contemporaries are perpetuated in numerous histories that his intellectual readers and their successors wrote. Some of them seem almost to have regarded the Nation and the Evening Post as gospel--and their assertive editor as a prophet.[2]

There is wide support of this position.

METHODOLOGY

The study used Godkin's editorials in the Nation in a 35 year period beginning with the first issue of the Nation in July of 1865 and extending through the editorials written in 1899, the end of which year Godkin resigned as editor of the Evening Post--the Nation after 1881 was a weekly edition of the newspaper. D. C. Haskell's index of the Nation's contributors[3] was used to define the universe of 1,544 Godkin-written editorials. One-third of that number--512--were selected for the sample. After selecting a starting number randomly, every third editorial was used. Theme categories were developed from: reading Nation editorials; books and dissertations focusing on Godkin or Patrician Reformers; histories of the period between the Civil War and the Progressive Era; George M. Frederickson's discussion of northern intellectuals in The Inner Civil War,[4] and a pilot study by the author. The themes selected were not exhaustive, but their centrality is indicated by the fact that one or more of the themes appeared in 511 of the 512 editorials. The themes selected do reflect the major themes with which Godkin dealt as well as some of the personal themes and biases that run through Godkin's political and social philosophy. The themes are listed in Table 1. The editorial was the sampling unit; the presence or absence of a theme was scored once for each

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editorial. This study did not attempt to code for positive or negative positions on the theme nor on the intensity with which Godkin wrote about the theme.

TABLE 1 APPROXIMATELY HERE

The information generated by the content analysis was examined in four ways--frequency analysis (using number of occurrences and percentages to form rank order tables); contingency analysis (studying the co-occurrence of each theme and testing it statistically to determine what themes occurred in the same editorials by other than chance); hierarchical analysis (a form of linkage analysis as developed by Louis McQuitty to determine what themes are most similar in occurrence); and factor analysis (used to reveal clusters of themes that had similar trend profiles).

ANALYSIS

The analyses of Godkin themes underscores that Godkin was first and foremost a critic. He offered in the Nation's prospectus as his first object: "The discussion of the topics of the day, and, above all, of legal, economical, and constitutional questions, with greater accuracy and moderation than are now to be found in the daily press."[5] The study makes apparent that he did stay with the topics of the day. Few of the themes are initiated to any substantial degree outside of a time when they were events of national concern. But there are several exceptions. Civil Service Reform was one, for it he became an advocate early on. Another such theme is Affairs of Foreign Nations. In the rank order of Godkin's editorials over the 35

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years of his editorship, this theme appears in approximately 50 per cent of his editorials. It is a broad category that includes all events in foreign countries. The category description excludes discussion of relations between the United States and a foreign country. The fact that only three themes--this theme, the theme of American Business, and the theme of United States-Foreign Relations--occur in more than 20 per cent of the editorials is evidence of the diversity of the subject matter in Godkin editorials and of his high interest in these matters.

TABLE 2 APPROXIMATELY HERE

The occurrence of Affairs of Foreign Nations in one-half the editorials--either as subject or as illustration or example--underlines Godkin's international outlook and emphasizes his knowledge of world events. His readers received commentary from him, for example, on subjects such as "The Papal Question," "Ecclesiastical Subjection of Germany," "The Money Matters of the Bonapartes," "The Mussulman Bugbear," "Diamonds--the Sale of the French Monarchial Jewels," "Athletics in France," "The Passing of the Highlanders," and "The Anglo-French Imbroglio." In addition to the natural disposition of the editorialist to consider the world his domain, Godkin undoubtedly believed he had a sure knowledge of international affairs. He was born in Ireland, educated there, covered the war in the Crimea for British newspapers, and was in his middle 20's before he left Europe. In the United States, he was spokesman for a genteel elite whose travel abroad and movement in a world circle were signs of acceptance. Editorials of this nature and allusions

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to problems in other countries would find ready acceptance in that cosmopolitan society. And, Godkin's journal was fashioned after English journals, therefore, it was natural that he had an outward view. The theme Affairs of Foreign Nations is the premiere theme throughout the 35 years. In the five-year frequency analyses, it appears as frequently as 62 per cent of the time, but never less frequently than 42 per cent. There is only one five-year period when another theme takes its first rank--Foreign Relations between 1895-99.

TABLE 3 APPROXIMATELY HERE

Over one-quarter of the editorials written by Godkin discuss or make reference to American business. The theme ranks second overall and fluctuates between second and third rank in the five year segments. It was the growth of American business during this period from the end of the Civil War to the turn of the century that threatened Godkin's world. To his mind, as reflected in his writings, American business was in good part responsible for the decline of American morality. Over the years in the study there is a gradual weakening of the American Business theme. It revives for two years in the 1890's--in 1894 and 1895 it is closely tied to the depression, to the election, and to the tariff issue--when it appears in 42 per cent of the editorials. In the 1895-99 period, it drops to five-year rank order of 13th as Godkin focuses on American expansionism. The analysis indicates he did not seemingly find a tie between American business and American expansion.

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The theme United States-Foreign Relations ranked third. It is a precise theme in that it occurs during specific periods of United States-foreign involvement and falls away in the larger periods of non-involvement. For example, in the 1876-80 period, it ranks 32nd among 40 themes. But in major periods of confrontation --the Alabama controversy with Great Britain in the 1870's, the immigration in the 1880's, and most strongly, the expansionistic period of the 1890's, this theme is an active subject for Godkin.

Fourth ranked, the theme of Fiscal Policy and Currency illustrates the mirroring of current events in Godkin editorials. This theme has two peak periods--both were depression periods and both were periods when there were national groups arguing for fundamental changes in American fiscal policy. In the 1870's these groups argued for increasing the amount of inconvertible money, that is, money issued without the backing of metal--Greenbacks Godkin held firmly to money exchangeable for species; his editorials in this period are sharply to that point. The interests that rose in the 1880's and peaked in the 1890's called for backing money with silver as well as gold. Again Godkin was in opposition.

The themes National Corruption and Local Corruption rank fifth and sixth respectively in the overall rank order. The related theme of corruption--State Corruption--ranks 12th. Both the national and local corruption themes appear in 16 per cent of the editorials. The factor analysis, as have period historians, emphasizes that corruption and its partial cure, civil service reform, were subjects of continuing Godkin interest. Corruption as a theme barely appears during the first five-year period, but

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with the onset of the 1870's and the end of Grant's first term as president and his casting for a second term, corruption became a major theme in Godkin editorials. While the three levels of corruption do appear frequently with each other, there is some differentiation in accompanying themes. National Corruption is a strong theme through the 1870's, peaking in the period 1881-85. It is in this period that Congress passed civil service reform legislation, the Pendleton Act of 1883. But, perhaps more important for Godkin in terms of an event associated with national corruption, James Blaine was selected as the Republican Party's candidate for president. Godkin led Mugwumps to the Democratic Party to support Grover Cleveland in what proved a narrow victory. Almost every mention of Blaine is accompanied by the National Corruption theme. It appears in approximately 30 per cent of the editorials in that five year period--in 1884 it appears in 50 per cent of Godkin's editorials. The theme Local Corruption is more consistent for 30 of the 35 years.

Religion, the theme rank ordered seventh in the 35-year period, was not anticipated as a major theme. There are few references to Godkin and religion in other works. But, the theme appears in slightly more than 16 per cent of Godkin's editorials. It appears in one-third of the editorials in the first five-year period. Godkin wrote about religion as an institution rather than as a faith. The institution had waning strength and a consequent inability to demand loyalty. Religion as an institution was also involved in the political processes of foreign governments and was of consequence in discussions of major political power blocs. Rollo Ogden, Godkin's biographer and

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colleague, described Godkin, who was Episcopalian, but a rather detached one, well. He wrote:

> Mr. Godkin's was a deeply reverent nature. With formal and organized Christianity, however, his sympathy was not perfect. For the church as a great secular institution, he had a fine historic feeling. The Cathedral of Milan he called the most religious of churches. St. Paul's, standing near mart and bank, always impressed him.[6]

Godkin, who had, as Ogden reported, a fondness for good preaching, mixed a brew of moral fervor for his editorials.

The South and the Confederacy were combined in a single theme that ranks eighth in the total order. The Nation was founded as a freedman's journal, thus one would assume an orientation toward Southern problems and concerns. It did, although not always entirely in the way expected by its early financial backers. In the first 15 years of the Nation, Godkin wrote about the South in 25 per cent of his editorials. Interestingly, after the removal of reconstruction governments and in effect the relegation of the blacks to the role of second class citizen, the theme appears in approximately 12 per cent of the editorials each year. Co-occurring categories and their frequency of appearance with the theme of the South support the generally held view that blacks were not of major interest to Godkin. In the 1876-80 period when 30 per cent of the editorials made mention of the Southern theme, only 14 per cent of the editorials touched upon the theme of Negro (Race). Business in the New South, corruption in reconstruction governments, lynchings, governmental policy toward the South, and the Alabama controversy were frequent topics.

The last major editorial subjects treated by E. L. Godkin

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were American expansionism and jingoism. In the last five years of the century--and of his editorial reign--he turned to these themes--themes that had not, with one exception, appeared in the upper third of the rank orders before. The themes that dominate his editorials in that 1895-99 period are United States-Foreign Relations, 52 per cent; American Military, 33 per cent; American Expansion, 30 per cent; War, 28 per cent; and Constitution, 27 per cent.

TABLE 4 APPROXIMATELY HERE

The size of the editorial sample required collapsing the data deck in the factor analysis of the single 35-year period. Thus, unwarranted strengths develop in most frequently occurring themes. Additionally, factor analysis is based upon correlations and that incorporates negative as well as positive occurrences. Yet, in examining the types--factors are referred to as types--developed in the analysis it is apparent that they are useful and relevant.

The movement of the three types in a factor analysis that collapsed the data into a single card for each year (n=35) concurs with other analyses. In this chart, themes with a z-score of more than one within a type were used to compute a constant score for the chart. The steps are explained in a footnote.[7] Type I, principally Local, State and National Corruption, Civil Service Reform, and the South, build together and peak in the crucial 1876-80 period when reform and disposition of reconstructionist state governments were popular questions. (In a factor analysis

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for the 1876-80 period which works with the richness of the individual editorials rather than a collapsed deck, the themes of Corruption and Civil Service Reform and the theme South become separate types.) Type II, principally Business and Religion, drops away from the more frequent early references and then maintains an ebb and flow appearance for 20 years. Type III is composed of United States-Foreign Relations, American Military, American Expansion, and War themes, principally, and behaves as would be expected. It has minimal movement for 25 years then rockets upward in the 1890's as the United States became involved in imperialistic ventures. The theme Affairs of Foreign Nations extends through the three types because of its pervasiveness--occurrence in about half the editorials. It also accounts for the high correlation between types. In the five-year factor analyses, the correlations between types were considerably lower.

TABLE 5 APPROXIMATELY HERE

Perhaps the best analysis presented from the data is a factor analysis that took every fifth card in the 35-year span thus giving an n of 103. It has the advantage of the raw data and is of sufficient size. It should probably have been tested by pulling out every fifth card from the five combinations. In this test the types are distinct and all have n's of good size. The percentage of variance explained is 44 per cent. The distribution by types is 49 per cent, 21 per cent, 17 per cent, and 13 per cent. The highest correlation between types is .251. The types are as expected from the sense of the study.

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Type I is the theme Affairs of Foreign Nations with a z-score of 6.21; 39 editorials from the sample load on this type. Themes that are categorized as having z-scores favoring Type I over all other types are Religion, Agriculture, Institutions, Women, Strenuous Physical Activity, Loyalty, Revolutionary Feelings Temperance, American Education, Materialism, Social Style, Heroism, and Urbanization. It can be said, then, that these themes are more inclined to appear in the context of reference to Affairs of Foreign Nations. It is important to note that the majority of the pure Fredrickson themes are in this group thus suggesting that they appear more in context with discussions of principally European problems or in stituations where Europe is an appropriate example. Type I is not clustered in any particular period in the 35 years, rather, it runs across the period.

Type II is principally the themes Local Corruption, State Corruption, National Corruption, and Civil Service Reform--all have z-scores of more than one. The theme American Morality is closer to this type than to any other, and, interestingly the theme Immigrant/Immigration is more distant from this type than any other theme. The type occurs generally in the early 70's, the early 80's, and the middle 90's.

Type III is dominated by U.S.-Foreign Relations with a z-score of 4.19 and joined by the South, Constitution, and Fiscal Policy above a z-score of one. American Military and American Expansion appear just below the positive one and the probable reason is that fewer editorials from the 1890's are included in the sample, thus weakening the number of editorials with these themes. The type is strongest in the 1890's--15

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of the 25 editorials that load on this type are 1891 or later. It is worth noting that the theme American Morality occurs less in this type than in any other.

The fourth type, Type IV, is composed of the themes Business (4.22), Labor, Fiscal, Foreign Nations, and Tariff over the z-score of one. More than any other themes, those of Business, Labor, and Tariff are strongest here. Fiscal Policy is slightly less than z=1. Type IV is scattered through the late 60's, the 80's and the 90's. It can be said, the author believes, that these types are indeed the dominant ones over that period, and this is substantiated by the earlier frequency analysis. In the section of the program that presents items with a z-score of less than one as consensus items--that is, non differentiating items--there are 25 themes.

SUMMARY

Godkin's critiques fell essentially in the areas of American Business, Fiscal Policy and Tariff, Corruption at all levels--and the solution to that, Civil Service Reform, Religion, Labor, American Morality--public as well as individual, Affairs of Foreign Nations, and relations between the United States and foreign countries. He did not concern himself to a major degree with immigration or the role of the immigrant in American life, with the plight of the Negro, with activities in the West including land dispersal policies or Indian affairs, with suffrage or the role of women, with agriculture, with urbanization.

Godkin's editorials had an international perspective. Half of the editorials he wrote during his 35 years as editor either

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were on a foreign nation or used a foreign nation as an example. This subject matter was constant over the years, always, with the exception of the last five years when United States-Foreign Relations exceeded it, maintaining first place in the rank order. It supports the Armstrong view of Godkin as a cosmopolitan editor. It particularly reveals the nature of Godkin and his audience when one considers that the primary political focus of the period was internal rather than external and was not, by and large, concerned with foreign countries in terms of relations with them. It is interesting to compare the frequency of this with themes like West and Agriculture--both interior questions that were above a rank order of 20th only 3 of 14 possible times and never above a rank of 14th. The principal subjects measured as themes that related to the theme category Affairs of Foreign Nations were Religion, War (in theory and philosophy), and Institutions. Generally each of these were related to political affairs.

Three basic sets, or clusters of themes were found over the length of the 35-year period Godkin was writing editorials, and a fourth set of themes becomes the overwhelming set in the last decade. These major groups of themes were: first, the Affairs of Foreign Nations; second, the combination of Local, State, and National Corruption themes that combine with the theme Civil Service Reform; third, the United States-Foreign Relations and the companion themes that develop with it in the 1890's and overshadow all other themes in the last decade--American Expansion and American Military; and fourth, the set

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of themes American Business, Labor, Fiscal Policy, and Tariff. These four sets are generally isolatable and form the base of clusters in the foregoing factor analysis and in hierarchical analysis. The study substantiates the view of Godkin as the critic rather than--for all of his concerns--an advocate. Armstrong repeats a story from Nevins that lends support to that view. It is the story of the timid old lady living alone in the country who, each evening at dusk, was relieved to hear the thud of the Evening Post on her porch for "It just lay there and growled all night."[8]

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FOOTNOTES

* Richard W. Lee is an assistant professor in the College of Journalism at the University of Maryland, College Park. This Godkin study was part of his doctoral thesis in Mass Communications at the University of Iowa. The thesis chairman was the late Professor Malcolm S. MacLean, Jr. The author is indebted to Professor MacLean for his inspiration and guidance and for sharing his enthusiasm and knowledge of communication so fully with his students.

1. William M. Armstrong, E. L. Godkin and American Foreign Policy, 1865-1900 (New York: Bookman Associates, 1957), p. 14, citing Henry James, ed., Letters of Wiliam James (Boston: 1920), I, 284.

2. Armstrong, 11-12.

3. Daniel C. Haskell, The Nation: Index of Titles and Contributors 1865-1917 (2 vols.; New York: New York Public Library Press, 1953).

4. George M. Fredrickson, The Inner Civil War: Northern Intellectuals and the Crisis of the Union. (New York: Harper and Row, 1965).

5. Rollo Ogden, ed., Letters of Edwin Lawrence Godkin (2 vols.; New York: Macmillan Co., 1907), I, 237.

6. Ogden, II, 35.

7. To develop the table, the author took themes with a z-score of more than one, recorded their actual number of occurrences for each year, and totaled them with other themes within that type. the total was then divided by the number of themes, then multiplied by a factor number so that all had equal representation (more editorials appeared some years than in others), and plotted.

8. William M. Armstrong, "The Writings of E. L. Godkin: An Essay and a Bibliography," Bulletin of the New York Public Library, LXXII (1968), p. 303.

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TABLE 1

THEMES SELECTED FOR STUDY IN ANALYSIS OF E. L. GODKIN'S EDITORIALS IN THE NATION, 1865-99

The Theme of:

1. Abolition*
2. Affairs of Foreign Nations--non United States
3. Agriculture and Farmer
4. American Business
5. American Education
6. American Expansionism*
7. American Military
8. American Morality/Morality in American Life*
9. Anti-Revolutionary/Revolutionary Feelings (F)
10. Civil Service Reform*
11. Social Style--Or Clothing, Fashion, Manners
12. Constitution/Declaration of Independence*
13. Corruption in Local Government*
14. Corruption in State Government*
15. Corruption in National Government*
16. National Fiscal Policy
17. Democracy*
18. Discipline (F)
19. Emancipation*
20. Foreign Relations--The United States and Foreign Countries
21. Heroism and Courage (F)
22. Immigration/Immigrant*
23. West
24. Institutions (F)
25. Labor
26. Loyalty (F)
27. Materialism (F)
28. Race (Negro)*
29. Elite Class*
30. Popular Will
31. Religion*
32. Role of Press
33. Women's Suffrage
34. Sentimentality (F)
35. Strenuous Physical Activity (F)
36. Temperance
37. Urbanization
38. War (F)
39. Tariff
40. South/Confederacy*

*Themes that were selected to test the extension of Fredrickson's descriptions of northern intellectuals are marked with an (F) or an asterisk. Those marked by an (F) were included to attempt to trace the major themes Fredrickson uses to define attitudes of those intellectuals. Themes marked with an asterisk were a part of the major study but are applicable to the Fredrickson question.

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TABLE 2

RANK ORDER OF THEMES IN E. L. GODKIN'S EDITORIALS WRITTEN FOR NATION BETWEEN 1865 AND 1899

Theme	Thematic Occurrence		
Title (Theme Number)	Rank	Times appeared	Percentage
Aff. of Foreign Nations(12)	1	253	49.41
American Business (4)	2	131	25.59
U.S.-For. Relations (20)	3	102	19.92
Fiscal Policy (16)	4	91	17.77
National Corruption (15)	5	85	16.60
Local Corruption (13)	6	84	16.41
Religion (31)	7	82	16.02
South (40)	8	81	15.82
Am. Morality (8)	9	80	15.63
Role of Press (32)	10½	78	15.23
Tariff (39)	10½	78	15.23
State Corruption (14)	12	75	14.65
Civil Service Reform (10)	13	72	14.06
Constitution (12)	14	66	12.89
Labor (25)	15½	61	11.91
Public Opinion (30)	15½	61	11.91
Institutions (24)	17	60	11.72
War (38)	18	57	11.13
Am. Education (5)	19	47	9.18
American Military (7)	20	39	7.62
Immigrant (22)	21	38	7.42
Race/Negro (28)	22	36	7.03
Loyalty (26)	23½	35	6.84
Agriculture (3)	23½	35	6.84
American Expansion (6)	25½	30	5.86
Elite Class (29)	25½	30	5.86
Social Style (11)	27	29	5.66
Democracy (17)	28	26	5.08
Women (33)	29	25	4.88
West (23)	30	24	4.69
Emancipation (19)	31½	15	2.93
Urbanization (37)	31½	15	2.93
Materialism (27)	33	14	2.73
Abolition (1)	33½	14	2.73
Temperance (36)	35	13	2.54
Discipline (18)	36	12	2.34

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TABLE 2 (Continued)

Theme		Thematic Occurrence	
Title (Theme Number)	Rank	Times appeared	Percentage
Heroism (21)	37	11	2.15
Revolution (9)	$38\frac{1}{2}$	8	1.56
Sentimentality (34)	$38\frac{1}{2}$	8	1.56
Physical Action (35)	40	7	1.37

TABLE 3

RANK AND PERCENTAGE OF OCCURRENCE OF INDIVIDUAL THEMES
IN GODKIN-WRITTEN EDITORIALS FOR NATION, 1865-1899

Theme Title	Rank/Percentage						
	1865-1870	1871-1875	1876-1880	1881-1885	1886-1890	1891-1895	1896-1899
1 Abolition	26/06%	37/0	29/04	30/02	28/02	28/03	24/03
2 For. Nations	1/61	1/61	1/43	1/45	1/45	1/51	2/48
3 Agricult.	26/06	13/14	17/11	15/09	24/03	20/07	33/00
4 Business	3/33	2/29	3/30	3/25	2/24	3/28	13/14
5 Education	7/20	16/12	17/11	15/09	19/06	13/10	33/00
6 Expansion	29/04	37/00	37/00	35/01	33/01	20/07	4/30
7 Military	26/06	29/04	32/02	29/03	38/00	13/10	3/33
8 Am. Morality	4/27	16/12	10/14	4/20	12/09	8/16	17/11
9 Revolution	23/08	33/02	37/00	35/01	33/01	35/01	33/00
10 CS Reform	29/04	13/14	5/25	4/20	8/12	17/08	13/14
11 Soc. Style	19/10	33/02	25/05	15/09	20/05	25/05	27/02
12 Constit.	17/12	9/18	10/14	21/07	12/09	13/10	6/27
13 L Corruption	29/04	6/20	7/20	6/16	6/13	6/22	10/19
14 S Corruption	37/02	6/20	6/21	9/14	16/08	9/15	7/25
15 N Corruption	23/08	11/16	7/20	2/29	12/09	10/14	13/14
16 Fiscal	17/12	4/22	2/34	18/08	17/07	4/26	7/25
17 Democracy	11/18	16/12	25/05	26/04	28/02	35/01	27/02
18 Discipline	37/02	29/04	32/02	35/01	28/02	31/02	22/05
19 Emancipation	29/04	26/06	15/13	30/02	38/00	38/00	27/02
20 Foreign Relat.	7/20	16/12	32/01	8/15	11/11	2/29	1/52

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TABLE 3 (Continued)

Theme Title	Rank/Percentage 1865-1870	1871-1875	1876-1880	1881-1885	1886-1890	1891-1895	1896-1899
21 Heroism	37/02	29/04	29/04	38/00	28/02	31/02	24/03
22 Immigrant	19/10	29/04	22/07	13/10	12/09	25/05	22/05
23 West	29/04	22/08	22/07	21/07	33/01	25/05	27/02
24 Institutions	6/22	3/24	17/11	23/06	8/12	17/08	18/09
25 Labor	7/20	20/10	10/14	18/08	3/20	11/11	33/00
26 Loyalty	14/14	26/06	25/05	26/04	17/07	20/07	20/06
27 Materialism	11/18	33/02	32/02	38/00	24/03	38/00	33/00
28 Race/Negro	19/10	22/08	10/14	26/04	20/05	23/06	20/06
29 Elite Class	23/08	33/02	9/18	23/06	23/04	28/03	27/02
30 Public Opinion	11/18	9/18	10/14	7/15	24/03	15/08	16/13
31 Religion	2/35	5/22	15/13	9/14	8/12	13/10	11/17
32 Press Role	14/14	13/14	17/11	11/11	4/18	7/21	12/16
33 Women	14/14	26/06	29/04	13/10	38/00	31/02	33/00
34 Sentimentality	29/04	37/00	37/00	38/00	33/01	28/03	24/03
35 Physical Activity	37/02	37/00	32/02	30/02	33/01	31/02	33/00
36 Temperance	29/04	22/08	37/00	30/02	20/05	38/00	33/00
37 Urbanization	29/04	22/08	25/05	30/02	28/02	35/01	27/02
38 War	7/20	11/16	17/11	23/06	24/03	23/06	5/28
39 Tariff	19/10	20/10	22/07	18/08	4/18	4/26	9/23
40 South	4/27	6/20	3/30	11/11	6/13	11/11	18/09

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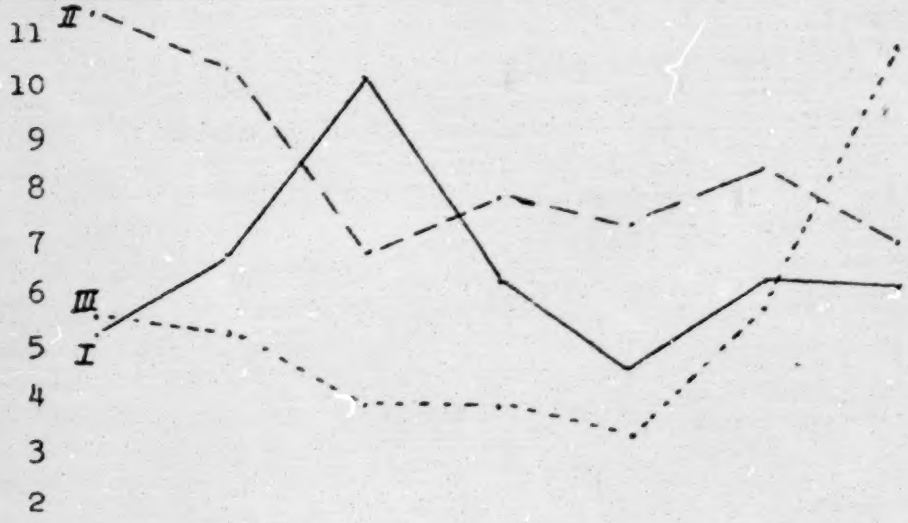
TABLE 4

FACTOR ANALYSIS OF GODKIN EDITORIALS 1865-1899

1865-1870	1871-1875	1876-1880	1881-1885	1886-1890	1891-1895	1896-1899



Three Factor Solution (forced)

I: Affairs of Foreign Nations, Business, Civil Service Reform, South, Local Corruption, State Corruption, National Corruption, and Fiscal.

II: Affairs of Foreign Nations, Religion, and Business.

III: Affairs of Foreign Nations, US-Foreign Relations, American Military, American Expansion, and War.

62.52 per cent of variance explained N= 35

Variance within I: 73%, II: 15%; and III: 11%.

Correlation between types: .603 .536
.525

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TABLE 5

TYPES* DEVELOPED BY FACTOR ANALYSIS BASED ON SAMPLE OF 103 GODKIN EDITORIALS, 1865-1899

Type I:	Affairs of Foreign Nations (6.21). (Even distribution).
Type II:	Local Corruption (3.46); State Corruption (3.33); National Corruption (3.18); Civil Service Reform (1.42). [Early 1870's, 1881-85].
Type III:	United States-Foreign Relations (4.19); South (2.44); Constitution (1.70); Affairs of Foreign Nations (1.34); Fiscal Policy (1.33); American Military (.84); Expansion (.77). [1898-99].
Type IV:	American Business (4.22); Labor (2.46); Fiscal Policy (1.84); Affairs of Foreign Nations (1.69); Tariff (1.37). [1880's].

Variance Explained:
44 per cent

Variance Within:
I 49; II 21; III 17; IV 13

Correlation

-.021	.217	.251
	-.138	-.128
		.214

*Types are defined by those themes that have a z-score of more than 1 in the factor analysis--z-scores are placed in parentheses; the years when types are strongest are placed in brackets.